

the affirmation of its personality. It has come to stay, for it derives from a powerful combination of material and spiritual factors. The material factor is the possession of a home, a recognized territory in which it lives and to which it becomes devotedly attached. The spiritual factor is the will of its citizens to live together and to share their fortunes. The grouping of human beings into such organic units is a necessary stage in the evolution and organization of mankind. The first storey of the edifice rests firmly on the solid earth. The second or international floor is being built upon the broad platform of self-conscious political communities. The individual, the nation, the human family—here is the new trinity in which we must all steadfastly believe if we desire to be saved.

Centuries before the World War a few seers and prophets discerned and proclaimed the unity of mankind. The interest of such pioneers as William Penn and the Abbe Saint-Pierre lies, not in the details of their schemes, but in their expression of the community idea beyond the frontiers of the state. If we once grasp the notion of solidarity, not as a speculative principle but as a concrete fact, we are on the high road to the moralization of politics. Nearly three centuries after *The Prince* Kant wrote his treatise on *Perpetual Peace*; and if the greatest of tyiodern thinkers had commanded the style of Rousseau or Machiavelli, his little book might have been as popular as it deserves. As our civil strife in the seventeenth century inspired Hobbes to seek an escape from anarchy in unfettered autocracy, so the tumult of the French Revolution drove Kant to propose a way of escape in the organization of mankind. If law was the foundation of the life of the community, it should equally regulate the relations of states. Humanity needed a constitution no less than France or Prussia; for so long as each state recognized no authority above

itself and no
duty except to itself, wars were inevitable.

Kant first enumerates what he describes as the preliminary articles of peace, (i) No treaty shall be valid if it contains a secret reservation of materials for another war. (2) No state shall be acquired through inheritance, exchange, or purchase, for it is not a property but a society of human beings. (3) Standing armies shall be abolished, for they are always threatening other states with war. (4) No national debt shall be incurred except for purely internal affairs. (5) No state shall forcibly interfere with the constitution or administration of another. These injunctions and exhortations are, of course,